

Message Text

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SUBJECT: PONOMAREV'S SPEECH TO CODEL ALBERT

1. FOLLOWING IS COMPLETE ENGLISH TEXT (AS PROVIDED US BY SOVIETS) OF PONOMAREV'S REMARKS TO CODEL ALBERT AUGUST 11:

ESTEEMED MR. ALBERT,

ESTEEMED MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE US CONGRESS,

IT IS WITH A DEEP SENSE OF SATISFACTION THAT WE REGARD THE ARRIVAL IN THE SOVIET UNION AT THE INVITATION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET OF THE FIRST OFFICIAL DELEGATION OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE US CONGRESS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR RELATIONS. NOT VERY LONG AGO WE RECEIVED HERE THE FIRST OFFICIAL DELEGATION OF THE US SENATE. WE HAD FRUITFUL BUSINESS CONVERSATIONS IN A CONSTRUCTIVE SPIRIT, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF EFFORTS TO GAIN A BETTER UNDERSTANDING OF EACH OTHER'S STANDPOINT ON MEANINGFUL PROBLEMS OF OUR DAY, ON MATTERS BEARING ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS.

MANY SOVIET PARTICIPANTS IN THE PRESENT MEETING HAVE WARM REMINISCENCES OF THE DAYS WHEN THE DELEGATION OF THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET WAS IN THE UNITED STATES AT THE INVITATION OF BOTH HOUSES OF THE CONGRESS. OUR CONVERSATIONS MADE A GOOD START ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUALLY USEFUL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE HIGHER LEGISLATIVE BODIES OF OUR

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STATES.

WE ARE SURE THAT SUCH TIES, WHICH ARE BECOMING SYSTEMATIC, BUSINESS-LIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE, CAN CONSIDERABLY ENLARGE THE FRAMEWORK OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, AND HELP TO MAKE THEM STABLE AND INDEPENDENT OF ANY EXTRA-NEOUS OR ACCIDENTAL FACTORS.

YOUR VISIT IS TAKING PLACE AT AN ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT PERIOD IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AS A WHOLE. THE FAVOURABLE TURN WHICH HAS OCCURRED IN THESE RELATIONS HAS CREATED THE NECESSARY CONDITIONS FOR FURTHER DEEPENING MUTUALLY ADVANTAGEOUS COOPERATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA ON THE BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. THIS, FOR ITS PART, HAS EXERTED AND WILL CONTINUE TO EXERT A FAVOURABLE INFLUENCE ON THE ENTIRE SITUATION IN THE WORLD, HELPING TO REDUCE ABOVE ALL THE DANGER OF THERMONUCLEAR WAR AND PROMOTING A POSITIVE RESTRUCTURING OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF DETENTE. BROAD POSSIBILITIES HAVE NOW BEEN CREATED FOR THE SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS ON THE BASIS OF THE KEY DOCUMENTS SIGNED BY OUR COUNTRIES, LIKE THE PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA, THE AGREEMENT ON PREVENTING NUCLEAR WAR, THE TREATY ON THE LIMITATION OF ANTIBALLISTIC MISSILE SYSTEMS AND THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ON CERTAIN MEASURES WITH RESPECT TO THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS, AND ALSO OTHER DOCUMENTS DETERMINING THE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES.

WHEREAS DURING THE POSTWAR DECADES THE TENSION IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAD A NEGATIVE EFFECT ON THE WHOLE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, TODAY, ON THE CONTRARY, THE IMPROVEMENT IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS IS BECOMING AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN A RADICAL IMPROVEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION, REDUCING THE DANGER OF THERMONUCLEAR WAR AND OPENING UP NEW AND GREAT POSSIBILITIES FOR CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION AMONG ALL COUNTRIES.

EXPERIENCE HAS SHOWN THAT DIRECT PERSONAL CONTACTS BETWEEN THE LEADERS OF THE USSR AND THE USA HAVE AN EXCEPTIONALLY POSITIVE ROLE TO PLAY IN DISCUSSING THE MATURE PROBLEMS IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND THE KEY INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

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TIONALLY POSITIVE ROLE TO PLAY IN DISCUSSING THE MATURE PROBLEMS IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND THE KEY INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS.

THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV'S FORTHCOMING VISIT TO THE USA WILL BE A MAJOR STAGE IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF COOPERATION BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES FOR THE BENEFIT OF STRONGER

PEACE.

THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, WHICH ENDED RECENTLY IN HELSINKI AND WHOSE SUCCESS WAS CONSIDERABLY PROMOTED BY THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, IS OF VAST IMPORTANCE FOR ENSURING PEACE AND THE SECURITY OF NATIONS. THIS HISTORIC CONFERENCE USHERED IN A NEW STAGE IN THE DETENTE AND MARKED AN IMPORTANT STEP IN CONSOLIDATING THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AND THE ARRANGEMENT OF RELATIONS OF EQUITABLE COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

ALL NATIONS WATCHED WITH ATTENTION AND HOPE THE COURSE OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. THERE THE HEADS OF 35 STATES MET TO PUT THEIR SIGNATURES TO THE COLLECTIVELY FORMULATED DOCUMENTS THAT HAVE CREATED FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS FOR STRENGTHENING SECURITY ON A CONTINENT WHERE TWO DESTRUCTIVE WORLD WARS HAVE BROKEN OUT, A CONTINENT WHICH NOW SETS AN EXAMPLE OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE FOR THE WHOLE GLOBE.

THE WHOLE WORLD REALISES THE ABSURDITY OF THE STATEMENTS BY THE OPPONENTS OF PEACEABLE POLICY, WHO HAVE TRIED TO CONVINCE PUBLIC OPINION THAT THE SUCCESS OF THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE WILL ALLEGEDLY GO ONESIDEDLY TO BENEFIT THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THE DOCUMENTS ADOPTED AT THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE ARE THE RESULT OF THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED ON THE BASIS OF A CONSIDERATION OF THE VIEWS AND INTERESTS OF ALL AND BY COMMON ACCORD. WITHOUT OBLITERATING THE DISTINCTIONS IN IDEOLOGY AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, THESE DOCUMENTS MEET THE INTERESTS OF ALL THE NATIONS OF OUR CONTINENT.

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THERE ARE NO VICTORS OR VANQUISHED, NO WINNERS OR LOSERS. THE CONFERENCE IS A TRIUMPH OF REASON, A GAIN FOR ALL THOSE WHO CHERISH PEACE AND SECURITY ON THE GLOBE.

THE EUROPEAN CONFERENCE HAS SUMMED UP ALL THE POSITIVE ACHIEVEMENTS UP TO NOW IN THE SWING AWAY FROM THE COLD WAR TO THE PRACTICE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, AS COMRADE L. I. BREZHNEV HAS NOTED, IT IS ALSO THE STARTING POINT FOR EUROPE'S SUBSEQUENT ALLROUND ADVANCE TO NEW HORIZONS. THERE IS NEED TO CONTINUE THE POLICY OF DETENTE AND FRUITFUL COOPERATION AMONG STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

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THE PRINCIPLES OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES WHICH HAVE BEEN CONCERNED BY THE PARTICIPANTS IN THE CONFERENCE ARE DESIGNED TO CREATE A RELIABLE BASIS FOR RULING OUT AGGRESSION AND ANY OTHER TYPE OF VIOLENCE FROM EUROPEAN INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. BUT THIS WILL REQUIRE CONSTANT AND SERIOUS EFFORTS IN ORDER TO ENSURE THAT THE DETENTE CONTINUES AND IS IRREVERSIBLE.

THIS FORUM WHICH HAS NO PRECEDENTS IN THE PAST GIVES A CONCEPTIONAL TOOL OF GREAT FORCE FOR REPEALING OPPOSITIONS OF DETENTE, COLD WAR WARRIORS, AND ALL AGGRESSIVE CIRCLES.

THE HELSINKI CONFERENCE GIVES RICH OPPORTUNITIES FOR LEGISLATIVE REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL COUNTRIES TO EXERT NECESSARY EFFORTS FOR THE CONSOLIDATION OF PEACE, FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN NATIONS AND FOR THE STRUGGLE AGAINST ARMS RACE WHICH HAS GAINED HUGE PROPORTIONS. ACTIVITIES OF LEGISLATIVE BODIES IN THIS DIRECTION WILL SHOW THE ELECTORATE WHO AND HOW IN REALITY UPHELD THEIR INTERESTS.

WE FEEL THAT A BROAD FIELD OF ACTIVITY OPENS UP HERE BOTH FOR THE US CONGRESS AND FOR THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET. WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONTRIBUTION BY THE PARLIAMENTS OF THE WORLD'S TWO MAJOR POWERS TO THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE DANGER OF WAR AND FOR STRONGER PEACE SHOULD CORRESPOND TO THE GREAT RESPONSIBILITY VESTED IN THEM BY THEIR ELECTORATE.

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SOVIET PARLIAMENTARIANS WOULD LIKE TO HOPE THAT THEIR AMERICAN COLLEAGUES WILL MAKE A DUE CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, TO THE CAUSE OF FULFILLING THE DECISIONS OF THE HISTORIC FORUM, THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE. AS FOR THE SOVIET PARLIAMENTARIANS, THEY CONSIDER IT THEIR DUTY, EXPRESSING THE WILL OF THEIR DELECTORATE, ACTIVELY TO PROMOTE THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS, WORKING TO POOL THE EFFORTS OF BOTH COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO AVERT WAR, IN ORDER TO BUILD A JUST AND LASTING PEACE.

I SHOULD LIKE TO EMPHASIZE ONCE AGAIN THAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS BEEN PURSUING ITS POLICY CONSISTENTLY AND HONESTLY, NEVER ALLOWING ITS WORDS AND DEEDS TO DIVERGE. WE REGARD PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE NOT AS SOME TEMPORARY PHENOMENON, NOT AS SOME TACTICAL DODGE, BUT AS A SOLID STANDARD OF RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. THAT IS ALSO THE APPROACH IN THE PEACE PROGRAMME, PUT FORWARD BY THE 24TH CONGRESS OF THE CPSU, WHICH HAS BEEN AT THE BASIS OF ALL OUR PRACTICAL ACTIVITY IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS. TO ENSURE PEACE, SECURITY AND COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT DUTY OF RESPONSIBLE POLITICAL PARTIES AND POLITICAL LEADERS TO THE PEOPLES OF THEIR COUNTRIES. WHILE PUTTING A HIGH VALUE ON EVERYTHING THAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE COURSE OF DETENTE, WE CANNOT CONCEAL NOT ONLY OUR SURPRISE BUT EVEN ALARM WHEN SOME POLITICAL LEADERS, IN SOMETHING LIKE A RELAPSE INTO THE COLD WAR PERIOD, KEEP SAYING THAT THE DETENTE ALLEGEDLY GOES TO BENEFIT ONLY THE SOVIET UNION. STATEMENTS OF THIS TYPE FREQUENTLY GO HAND IN HAND WITH CALLS FOR A BUILD-UP OF MILITARY EFFORTS AND "ADVICE" TO SEEK VARIOUS UNILATERAL CONCESSIONS FROM THE SOVIET UNION IN THE POLITICAL, MILITARY OR ECONOMIC SPHERE.

IT IS QUITE CERTAIN THAT THIS TYPE OF ACTIVITY IS DELIBERATELY AIMED TO UNDERMINE THE PROCESS OF DETENTE AND TO INJECT THE POISON OF MUTUAL SUSPICION AND MISTRUST INTO THE INTERNATIONAL ATMOSPHERE.

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THE STEPPED-UP ACTIVITY IN THE RECENT PERIOD BY THOSE WHO TAKE SUCH A STAND REQUIRES THAT ALL THOSE WHO SINCERELY SEEK TO STRENGTHEN PEACE AND COOPERATION AMONG NATIONS SHOULD ADVANCE EVEN MORE PERSISTENTLY ALONG THE ROAD OF DETENTE, THE SETTLEMENT OF CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES BY NEGOTIATION, AND WORK FOR FRESH PROGRESS ALONG THIS WAY.

WHILE GIVING DUE CREDIT TO WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED, THERE IS ALSO THE NEED PLAINLY TO SEE THE GREAT TASKS WHICH STILL HAVE TO BE FULFILLED. WE FEEL THAT THE SUBSTANCE OF THESE TASKS WAS VIVIDLY EXPRESSED BY COMRADE L.I. BREZHNEV IN HIS RECENT SPEECH AT HELSINKI. HE SAID: "IN OUR VIEW, THE AGGREGATE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE CONSIST IN THE FACT THAT THE INTERNATIONAL DETENTE IS BEING INCREASINGLY INVESTED WITH CONCRETE MATERIAL CONTENT. IT IS PRECISELY THE MATERIALISATION OF THE DETENTE WHICH IS THE ESSENCE OF THE MATTER, THE ESSENCE OF EVERYTHING THAT SHOULD MAKE PEACE IN EUROPE TRULY DURABLE AND UNSHAKEABLE. THEREFORE, UPPERMOST IN OUR MINDS IS THE TASK OF ENDING THE ARMS RACE AND ACHIEVING TANGIBLE RESULTS IN DISARMAMENT." THIS ANALYSIS IS UNDOUBTEDLY FAIR NOT ONLY FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS BUT ALSO FOR OTHER IMPORTANT SPHERES OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, INCLUDING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA.

I THINK THAT OUR COLLEAGUES, AMERICAN PARLIAMENTARIANS, WILL AGREE THAT THE PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR-MISSILE WAR HAS BEEN AND REMAINS THE PIVOTAL PROBLEM IN RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES. THE TASK OF BACKING UP THE POLITICAL DETENTE WITH A DETENTE IN THE MILITARY SPHERE IS NOW BECOMING THE MOST URGENT ONE. ONE CAN NOTE WITH SATISFACTION A NUMBER OF IMPORTANT MEASURES IN THAT DIRECTION WHICH WERE REALISED OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS JOINTLY BY THE USSR AND THE USA OR WITH THEIR PARTICIPATION. THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS AGREEMENTS, MENTIONED ABOVE, ARE KNOWN TO BE THE MAJOR ACHIEVEMENTS IN THIS AREA. THEY HAVE INAUGURATED EFFECTIVE LIMITATION TO THE GROWTH OF NUCLEAR

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ARSENALS. FRESH PROGRESS IN THIS DIRECTION IS UNDOUBTEDLY BOUND TO BE A MAJOR CONTRIBUTION TO THE CAUSE OF WORLD PEACE.

THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED AT VLADIVOSTOK BETWEEN THE GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE L. I. BREZHNEV AND PRESIDENT GERALD FORD OF THE UNITED STATES CONCERNING THE CONCLUSION OF A NEW LONG-TERM AGREEMENT

ON THE LIMITATION OF STRETEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS IS OF CARDI-
NAL IMPORTANCE. THIS IS THE FIRST TIME THAT A PRACTICAL
BASIS HAS BEEN PROVIDED FOR THE TASK OF ENSURING A LIMI-
TATION OF STRETEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS ON A LONG-TERM BASIS
NOT ONLY IN QUANTITATIVE BUT ALSO IN QUALITATIVE
TERMS, AND ALSO SUBSEQUENTLY OF LOOKING TO A REDUCTION OF
THESE MOST DANGEROUS TYPES OF MODERN WEAPONS. HERE, THE
PRINCIPLE OF EQUALITY AND EQUAL SECURITY OF THE PARTIES
MUST BE MADE THE BASIS OF AN AGREEMENT. IN THE PROCESS
OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS MOST INTRICATE MATTER, THERE IS
STILL NEED TO OVERCOME CERTAIN DIFFICULITES IN AGREEING TO
ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT, BUT WE FEEL THAT,
GIVEN THE GOOD WIL AND MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING, THE CONCLU-
SION OF SUCH AN HISTORIC AGREEMENT IS QUITE POSSIBLE
SOON. THE SOVIET UNION DOES NOT SPARE ANY EFFORTS TO
ACHIEVE THIS AIM.

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AT THE SAME TIME, WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT NEGATIVE
TENDENCIES STILL OPERATE IN THE SPHERE OF ARMAMENTS. THE
MILITARY BUDGETS OF A NUMBER OF WESTERN STATES, ESPECIALLY
THE USA, HAVE CONTINUED TO GROW. LOUD CALLS ARE STILL BEING
ISSUED FOR A BUILD-UP OF ARMAMENTS AND FOR SECURING
POSITIONS OF STRENGTH.

WE HAVE NOTED THAT IN THE RECENT PERIOD THE ROLE
OF THE US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES INDECIDING ONFOREIGN
POLICY MATTERS HAS BECOME VERY NOTICABLE, AND WE FEEL THAT
THE MEMBERS OF THE US HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COULD DO A
GREAT DEAL TO STOP THE UNFOLDING OF A NEW ROUND OF THE
ARMS RACE.

IT IS TIME TO GO ON TO IMPLEMENTING CONCRETE
MEASURES THAT WOULD MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO STOP THE ARMS RACE
AND TO START ON A REDUCTION OF THE ARMAMENTS OF STATES.
THAT IS PRECISELY WHAT THE SOVIET UNION HAS FULLY ADVOCATED.

WITH THE SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION OF THE CONFERENCE ON
SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, THE ACHIEVEMENT OF REAL
PROGRESS IN THE TALKS ON TROOP AND ARMS CUTS IN CENTRAL
EUROPE IS BECOMING AN URGENT TASK. THE MAIN PRINCIPLE OF
OUR APPROACH IS THAT ANY REDUCTION OF ARMED FORCES AND
ARMAMENTS HERE SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT IN SUCH A WAY AS NOT
TO UPSET THE BALANCE THAT HAS TAKEN SHAPE IN THIS REGION
AND THAT THE SECURITY OF NEITHER PARTY SHOULD BE JEOPARDISED.

DISARMAMENT CONCERNS ALL COUNTRIES WITHOUT EXCEPTION.
THIS PUTS FORWARD THE TASK OF ENSURING THE PARTICIPATION OF
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ALL STATES IN THE DISARMAMENT AGREEMENTS ALREADY IN EFFECT
AND SECURING THE EARLIEST CONVOCAION OF A WORLD CONFERENCE
ON DISARMAMENT. IF IT HAS BEEN POSSIBLE, IN FACE OF
WHAT MUST BE TRULY CALLED CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTIES AND
DIFFERENCES, TO CALL THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE, WHOSE COMPOSITION WAS UNPRECEDENT-
TED, IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE TO SECURE THE CONVOCAION OF A
WORLD CONFERENCE ON DISARMAMENT IN THE NEAR FUTURE.

IT IS IMPORTANT TO LOOK AHEAD. THE GENERAL SECRETARY
OF THE CPSU CC L. I. BREZHNEV HAD GOOD REASON TO PUT
FORWARD IN ONE OF HIS LATEST SPEECHES THE IDEA OF THE
NEED TO CONCLUDE AN AGREEMENT PROHIBITING THE DEVELOPMENT
OF NEW SYSTEMS AND NEW TYPES OF MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS.
THIS PROPOSAL IS AIMED TO PUSH BACK EVEN FURTHER THE
DANGER OF WAR, TO REDUCE THE SCALE OF THE ARMS RACE AND TO
MAKE IT POSSIBLE TO PUT IT ULTIMATELY UNDER CONTROL. AFTER
ALL, THE IDEA IS TO STOP USING SCIENCE, THE SCIENTIFIC
AND TECHNICAL REVOLUTION ALTOGETHER FOR THE PURPOSES OF
DEVELOPING ANY NEW TYPES OF MASS DESTRUCTION WEAPONS. WE
SHOULD LIKE TO HOPE THAT L. I. BREZHNEV'S PROPOSAL WILL
ATTRACT THE ATTENTION OF LEGISLATORS, GOVERNMENT CIRCLES
AND THE BROAD PUBLIC IN THE USA.

THE IMPROVEMENT IN THE OVERALL CLIMATE OF INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS HAS LED TO A REDUCTION IN THE HOTBEDS OF WAR,
AND THIS, WE FEEL, IS ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT EFFECTS OF THE
INTERNATIONAL DETENTE OVER THE PAST FEW YEARS. AGAINST
THIS BACKGROUND THE MAINTENANCE OF THE EXPLOSIVE SITUATION
IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS EVER MORE INTOLERABLE. SUCH A
SITUATION DOES NOT ACCORD EITHER WITH THE INTERESTS OF THE
PEOPLES OF THE REGION OR WITH THE INTERESTS OF STRENGTHENING

WORLD PEACE.

THE SOVIET UNION BELIEVES THAT THE WAY OUT OF THE
EXISTING SITUATION IS URGENTLY TO SOLVE THE PRINCIPAL,
KEY PROBLEMS OF A SETTLEMENT, WITHOUT WHICH IT IS
IMPOSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE A LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST.
THIS IS THE WITHDRAWAL OF ISRAELI TROOPS FROM ALL THE
ARAB TERRITORIES OCCUPIED IN 1967; SATISFACTION OF THE
LEGITIMATE RIGHTS OF THE ARAB PEOPLE OF PALESTINE,
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INCLUDING ITS RIGHT TO SET UP ITS OWN STATE; PROVISION FOR
ALL STATES AND PEOPLES IN THE REGION, INCLUDING ISRAEL,
OF THE RELEVANT INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES OF INDEPENDENT
EXISTENCE AND DEVELOPMENT IN PEACE AND SECURITY. A
GENUINE AND RELIABLE SETTLEMENT REQUIRES THAT ALL THESE
PROBLEMS SHOULD BE SOLVED, WITHOUT ANY EXCEPTIONS WHATSOEVER.

IN THIS CONTEXT, EVER GROWING IMPORTANCE ATTACHES
TO THE RESUMPTION OF THE GENEVA PEACE CONFERENCE, WITH
DUE PREPARATION, TO DISCUSS THE WHOLE COMPLEX OF MIDDLE
EAST PROBLEMS WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL THE PARTIES
CONCERNED, INCLUDING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PALESTINE
LIBERATION ORGANISATION, AND IN FULL CONFORMITY WITH
THE WELL-KNOWN RESOLUTIONS OF THE UN SECURITY
COUNCIL AND GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

THE SOVIET UNION AND THE USA, ACTING WITH SUFFICIENT
ACCORD, COULD HELP TO BRING ABOUT A SETTLEMENT IN THE
MIDDLE EAST AND ELIMINATION OF THE THREAT OF ANOTHER ARMED
CONFLICT IN THE REGION. THIS TASK REQUIRES NOT ONLY
ACTION BY GOVERNMENTS BUT ALSO THE NECESSARY EFFORTS ON
THE PART OF PARLIAMENTARIANS.

IN CONCLUSION I SHOULD LIKE TO DEAL WITH THE
DEVELOPMENT OF SOVIET-AMERICAN ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND
TECHNICAL COOPERATION, WHICH IS AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF
THE OVERALL STRENGTHENING OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR
COUNTRIES.

JUST RECENTLY WE WITNESSED THE JOINT SOYUZ-APOLLO
FLIGHT. THIS OUTSTANDING SPACE EXPERIMENT, WHICH BECAME
POSSIBLE UNDER DETENTE, DEMONSTRATED NOT ONLY THE
POSSIBILITY BUT ALSO THE NECESSITY OF MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL
COOPERATION BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES IN THE ADVANCED FIELDS
OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY. THE SOYUZ-APOLLO FLIGHT HAS
UNDOUBTEDLY BECOME A MAJOR POLITICAL EVENT, EMPHASISING
THE ROLE AND IMPORTANCE OF THE NEW SOVIET-AMERICAN POLITICAL
RELATIONS IN THE MODERN WORLD, A SYMBOL OF CONSIDERABLE
CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE WORLD TODAY. PONDER

THE FACT THAT THIS JOINT SPACE FLIGHT WAS FOLLOWED WITH
GRET ATTENTION AND SYMPATHY BY MISSIONS OF PEOPLE IN THE
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USSR, THE USA AND ALL ACROSS THE GLOBE. IN THE MINDS OF
THESE MILLIONS, A FRESH IMPETUS WAS GIVEN TO THE DEA:
THIS--THE CONQUEST OF NATURE--SHOULD BE THE OBJECTIVE OF
THE EFFORTS OF NATIONS AND STATES, INSTEAD OF THE HEAPING
UP OF FRESH MOUNTAINS OF DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS.

STATESMEN AND POLITICAL LEADERS IN MANY COUNTRIES
HAVE MADE STATEMENTS IN CONNECTION WITH THE JOINT
SOYUZ-APOLLO FLIGHT SAYING THAT THEY SHARED THE CONVICTION
THAT TE POSITIVE CHANGES IN SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS
OPENED UP FRESH
POSSIBILITIES FOR THE BROAD AND FRUITFUL
DEVELOPMENT OF SCIENTIFIC TIES AMONG NATIONS.

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SOVIET AND AMERICAN SPECIALISTS AND SCIENTISTS ARE
IN MANY INSTANCES WORKING ON THE SOLUTION OF VIRTUALLY THE
SAME PROBLEMS, AND A POOLING OF THEIR EFFORTS, IF ONLY
ALONG THE MOSTIMPORTANT LINES, WOULD HELP TO OBTAIN MORE
EFFICIENT, TECHNICALLY PERFECT AND ECONOMICALLY ADVANTAGEOUS
RESULTS. THIS APPLIES ABOVE ALL TO GLOBAL PROBLEMS LIKE
THE EXPLORATION OF SPACE, THE EXPLORATION AND WORKING OF
THE RESOURCES OF THE WORLD OCEAN, PROBLEMS IN BIOLOGY AND
MEDICIE AND A NUMBER OF OTHERS. WE ALSO FEEL THAT IT IS

IMPORTANT NOT TO DISCOUNT THE POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF
SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION.

I SHOULD LIKE SPECIALLY TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTION
OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC TIES BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE USA.
THIS SPHERE OF RELATIONS IS NOT ONLY OF COMMERCIAL
IMPORTANCE. TRADE AND ECONOMIC TIES NOT ONLY PROVIDE
OPPORTUNITIES FOR AN EXCHANGE OF GOODS, PURCHASE OF
MANUFACTURED, RAW MATERIAL AND FARM PRODUCTS WHICH EITHER
COUNTRY NEEDS, BUT ALSO CONSOLIDATE THE POLITICAL
FOUNDATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES AND
CREATE A CONCERN FOR THE STABLE DEVELOPMENT OF MUTUAL
RELATIONS.

IT HAS NOW BECOME OBVIOUS THAT THE DISCRIMINATORY
ACTION WITH REGARD TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND ECONOMIC
RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES, AND THE REFUSAL TO GRANT
THE SOVIET UNION THE NORMAL CONDITIONS OF TRADE ENJOYED
BY MOST TRADING PARTNERS OF THE USA HARM SOVIET-AMERICAN
RELATIONS.

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THE QUESTION OF TRADE RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES
WAS ACTIVELY DISCUSSED DURING OUR MEETING WITH THE SENATORS.
I MUST SAY THAT WE WERE UNANIMOUS ON THE FACT THAT THE
DISCRIMINATORY MEASURES EXISTING WITH RESPECT TO THE
SOVIET UNION INFLECT HARM ON BOTH PARTIES. THE SENATORS'
STATEMENT SHOWED THAT THE MOOD IN THE SENATE IS SUCH THAT
THERE IS NEED TO SEEK WAYS TO CHANGE THE SITUATION. WE
WERE ACQUAINTED WITH THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER TO THE SENATORS
AND THE CONGRESSMEN URGING THE CONGRESS TO REVIEW THAT
SECTION OF THE TRADE ACT WHICH PERTAINS TO TRADE RELATIONS
WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. WE
SHOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT IN THIS MATTER THE SOBER,
REALISTIC APPROACH WILL GAIN THE UPPER HAND, BECAUSE THE
DEVELOPMENT OF RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR COUNTRIES CAN BE
BASED NOT ONLY ON RECIPROCITY, MUTUAL ADVANTAGE, EQUALITY AND
NONINTERFERENCE IN EACH OTHER'S DOMESTIC AFFAIRS. THIS
ALSO ACCORDS WITH THE DOCUMENT ADOPTED BY THE HELSINKI
CONFERENCE.

IN CONCLUSION, ALLOW ME ONCE AGAIN TO EXPRESS
SATISFACTION AT THE ARRIVAL OF YOUR DELEGATION IN THE
USSR, AND THE POSSIBILITY OF EXCHANGING VIEWS ON MEANINGFUL
PROBLEMS OF THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION AND SOVIET-AMERICAN
RELATIONS IN A BUSINESS-LIKE AND CONSTRUCTIVE ATMOSPHERE.
WE HOPE THAT OUR DISCUSSIONS WILL PROMOTE THE FURTHER
CONSOLIDATION OF TIES BETWEEN THE USSR SUPREME SOVIET AND
THE US CONGRESS, AND WILL MAKE A POSITIVE CONTRIBUTION TO

THE CAUSE OF SOVIET-AMERICAN COOPERATION.

DURING YOUR STAY IN THE USSR YOU WILL SEE FOR
YOURSELVES THAT ON THE VAST EXPANSE OF THE LAND OF THE
SOVIETS OUR PEOPLE ARE ENGAGED IN PEACEFUL, CONSTRUCTIVE
LABOUR, AND THAT WE HAVE REAL AND EVEN GREATER PLANS FOR
THE FUTURE. OUR ECONOMY HAS BEEN DEVELOPING SUCCESSFULLY,
WITHOUT RECESSIONS OR CRISES, THE PEOPLE'S WELFARE HAS
BEEN GROWING AND OUR CULTURE FLOURISHING.

MAY I WISH YOU AN INTERESTING AND USEFUL STAY IN THIS
COUNTRY, AND FRESH IMPRESSIONS AND SATISFACTION FROM
MEETINGS WITH SOVIET PEOPLE IN VARIOUS SPHERES OF LIFE.

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PAGE 03 MOSCOW 11354 04 OF 04 121443Z

THANK YOU FOR YOUR KIND ATTENTION.
STOESSEL

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NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: FOREIGN RELATIONS, SPEECHES
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Draft Date: 12 AUG 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
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Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: n/a
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment:
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Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
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Status: NATIVE
Subject: PONOMAREV'S SPEECH TO CODEL ALBERT
TAGS: PFOR, OREP, UR, US, (ALBERT, CARL), (PONOMAREV)
To: STATE
Type: TE
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